THE NATIONALITY MAP OF EUROPE[1]

BY LEON DOMINIAN

A nation's development unfolds itself within a definable area. Its history undergoes constant change. But the natural features of the regions in which the changes occur are abiding. And life everywhere and in all its transformations tends to adapt itself to its surroundings. Europe is a soil on which the plant of nationality has blossomed. Some of the continent's nations rose to eminence because they came into being on propitious sites. Often natural conditions were adverse. A study of the map is nothing less than a study of the foundations on which national life was laid.

Two great facts underlie European history during the past hundred years. Everywhere nations are emerging from their struggles with increasing homogeneity of population. Within them the spirit of democracy is growing stronger. A survey of boundary changes in the last century reveals the tendency of peoples of the same race and speech to consolidate into single political units. In western Europe the process has attained a highly advanced stage. Tangled conditions still prevail in the eastern section of the continent. Allowance for these considerations is necessary in a study of nationality in Europe as well as in the settlement of new boundaries.

A Social Force

To consider a nation as the arbitrary creation of diplomacy is to ignore the working of natural laws which preside over the formation of nationality. The consciousness of belonging to the same political unit among individuals, and the feeling of union engendered thereby, are manifestations of a persistent action of social forces which are reducible to scientific expression. Self-preservation comes into play. The perpetuation of ideals is desired. Men of a given group have needs which are not felt in other

[1] This article is based on the writer's book "The Frontiers of Language and Nationality in Europe" published by Henry Holt and Company for the American Geographical Society of New York. Reference to this work is invited for ampler details.

units. Such tendencies foster divergences in human aims and culminate in the formation of nationality. But opposed ideals are not necessarily irreconcilable since the welfare of men is the highest aim in every nation. Armed struggle between nations can generally be traced to the inordinate ambition of powerful rings in any one of them. The law of orderly progress then requires that the others combine for repression. To-day Germany's challenge for supremacy flung in defiance of all that men have held most sacred and accompanied by foul and widespread outrages has convulsed the life of the whole world. More than ever is seen the need of a world organization backed by force to curb the ambition of cliques which happen to have attained control in any nation. This phase of the subject has received attention elsewhere in this series and the reader is referred to the sound presidential utterances recorded in the first number of this publication.

Elements of Nationality

In thinking of nationality three fundamental elements must win their way to dominance in the mind. The people of a nation deserve attention first. Their past is equally important. Last, the land in which they lived or the environment in which they toiled, must be taken into account. Population, history and geography are, therefore, the components of nationality. I shall attempt in this paper to show that nationality in Europe is a resultant of the three in every instance. If emphasis is laid on geography it is simply because racial and historical development have been strongly influenced by environment.

How a Nation Forms

From the standpoint of population alone a nation is an artificial product manufactured out of racial raw material. The assimilation of diverse races into single nationalities is world-wide and time-old. We can follow the process at present under our own eyes in the United States. In Europe a similar origin and growth of nations has taken place long ago. That old continent has been invaded by human races since ages altogether lost to history. It is not unlikely that Asia contributed the heaviest flow of immigrants. Africa also added its overflow. We therefore look to the east and the south in attempting to account for the presence of man in Europe. But these early invasions were exceedingly slow movements of humanity. They trickled lazily like the slow waters of a sluggish stream. We can conceive of them best perhaps by recalling the wanderings of gipsy bands familiar to travelers in the Balkans. The nomads of Asia Minor, of

Mesopotamia or Arabia also unconsciously perpetuate human wanderings of archaic times. It was humanity's quest of comfort in space. Rigorous climate or arid regions were forsaken. Sometimes nature's supply of food, whether animal or plant, would be exhausted and family or tribe would keep on moving within the zone of supply. Thousands of miles in as many years would thus be covered by a race.

In time the descendants of early comers began to feel the pressure of new arrivals. For, along with migration, settlement had also taken place. Thus Europe twenty-five thousand years ago was dotted with numerous settlements each of which probably consisted of one or a few families. It was the time of the stone age when men were rude and their culture was primitive. But even then life could not have been unlovely. The beauty of mountain scenery, of lakes and forests or of glorious summer fields was as resplendent as it is now. Love of homestead must have had its place in the emotions of these ancestors of white man. A rudimentary idea of nationality originated then and there. For, divested of the complex elements which enter into the composition of nationality, the idea reduces itself to attachment for the native soil. The peasant, ignorant of history, knows of nationality little else than love of the land in which he was born. The simple pleasures of his life are associated with the locality in which they were experienced.

Love of Native Soil

Races in the stone age were well defined in Europe. The northern plain from Russia to the North Sea was the home of fair-complexioned giants—the tallest men of the continent. Descendants of this ancient race are met to-day among the tall blonds of northern Russia and Finland. In Sweden and the Baltic shores of Germany a very pure type is still to be met. They were born fighters, active and energetic as men reared in a cold climate must necessarily be. From the earliest time this race has been engaged in fleeing the inclement climate of its original land. It has spread southward, fighting its way and conquering a right of sojourn in central and southern Europe. But as in all war-like migrations wandering was generally restricted to the males, the race lost its individuality once beyond its homeland. Its men married with foreign women. All the blondness in Europe as far as Spain, Italy and Greece is due to the coming of these northern men. To them also is due the infusion of northern vigor and energy in southern blood.

Original Races

In the mountainous center of Europe, all the way from the Balkan

peninsula, in a circular sweep to the mountains of Scotland, there lived a race of mountain men, known generically as the Alpines, who twenty-five thousand years ago must have been fairly pure. To-day wherever a dark-complexioned and stockily built individual is met it is a safe guess to consider him a descendant of the ancient mountain population. A broad chest, round head and dark eyes and hair are convincing signs of this origin. These mountaineers were also travelers. They learned in time that life in the lowlands on the north and south of their racial homeland held greater attraction. They mingled accordingly with northern and Mediterranean races. Like their northern neighbors they contributed native hardiness and splendid physique to the mingling.

These contributions from northern and central Europe were of the utmost benefit to the race of men which peopled the Mediterranean basin. We find here in the stone age peoples characterized by dark complexion and tallness but not as massive-boned as northern men. Indolence, an inevitable result where each season is fair, was a native trait. But although wanting in energy or enterprise they made up by their keen perception of the beautiful and the ability to communicate through art their appreciativeness of all that is fine in life. So throughout ages men of northern Europe have looked to the south for artistic inspiration. They felt that their heritage of toil and climatic gloom could be enlivened by the sunshine of Mediterranean lands.

From such racial intercourses the population of every European nation reached its present composition. The blending has been carried everywhere to such an extensive degree that to conceive of racial purity in any nation is impossible. In Finland perhaps the fair type of the north is found in a condition of striking purity. Southern Italy and southern Greece are peopled almost exclusively by Mediterranean men. Parts of Switzerland, particularly in the mountainous recesses of the eastern cantons, contain inhabitants of Alpine stock. But these are extreme cases. Incidentally, it is interesting to note that the happiest results from the standpoint of civilization are derived wherever the blending has been greatest. Racial purity leads to racial degeneracy and tends to weaken the spirit of nationality. In France and England where modern civilization reaches perhaps its highest stages, the blending of races has been particularly intense. In the United States the splendid results of racial mingling are everywhere apparent. It should

No Racial Purity

be borne in mind, however, that these remarks apply only to the mingling which has taken place between races of white men. The presence of Asiatic blood in European races has been most pernicious. Unfortunately this phase of racial mingling cannot be overlooked, for it has left the impress of Asia in all of eastern Europe where nationality is still in a stage of travail.

Influx from Asia

Europe is soldered to Asia, so much so that for practical purposes of investigation one and the same continent may be considered as extending from the Atlantic to the Pacific. And from Central Europe to Central Asia the world's longest plain extends uninterruptedly. A pedestrian traveler starting from Hamburg or Antwerp may proceed east as far as Vladivostok without finding any serious mountain obstacle in his way. The silk merchants who carried their wares from China to Constantinople in the ninth and tenth centuries knew part of this road well. So did Marco Polo a little later. The fact is that Europe is devoid of a natural bulwark that might have stemmed the tides of early Asiatic invasions. But for this vast stretch of plains in Europe and Asia, the history of eastern Europe and hence that of all the continent would have been quite different. The open plain enabled Asiatics to swarm into Europe in their thousands and more. They came as Tatars, Turks or Huns. But Tatars, Turks or Huns are all members of the only race which peoples Central Asia. Between the three the difference is not even as great as that between inhabitants of southern Spain, southern Italy or southern Greece. To-day Turks and Tatars speak identical languages, whereas between Spanish and Italian the linguistic divergence is perceptible to all. The description of the Huns by early chroniclers applies in every respect to the Tatar bands which brought havoc in the Middle Ages to eastern Europe. The portrait of Attila from the pen of ancient historians would fit that of any leader of the Tatar hordes which devastated Poland in the thirteenth century. The peoples of eastern Europe—that is to say of eastern Germany, of Finland, Poland and Russia, and likewise of the Balkan countries—have received heavy admixtures of Tatar blood. The formation and growth of their nationality has been affected—retarded, to be more precise—by this fact. In all these countries pug-noses and small eyes coupled to a cruel cast of countenance are relics to-day of Europe's former defenselessness against Asia.

These blendings of men from varied climes preclude adoption of racial standards in gaging European nationalities. To determine the

No Racial Standard

amount of Teutonic blood in the average Frenchman or Englishman leads to as great a confusion as the endeavor to trace the Tatar in the Pole or the Slav in the German. England swarms with dark-complexioned men and many northern Italians or Greeks are blonds. On the map itself the areas peopled exclusively by men of northern or southern races are rarely pure except along the continental fringes. Hence the value of a racial map lies in its revelation of past conditions. In the majority of cases the citizen of any European nation carries within himself a mixture of every race which made its appearance in Europe. Were it not for the varied environment in which Europeans live the physical difference between them would be slight. Clearly a stronger tie than race is needed to hold men together by nationality. We turn hence to history. Here again the map will be found to have exerted profound influence.

A nation is a cultural creation of the past. We may conceive it as the historical masterpiece carved out of time by the thought of its former leaders and the deeds of its former citizens, or as a fund of achievement bequeathed by ancestors and intrusted to the stewardship of every responsible citizen. From the earliest period of history, nations like individuals have grown from humble beginnings to greatness. But there exists a fundamental difference between this development in ancient times and that of our own day. Formerly a nation increased by the addition of alien territory and population. The modern tendency is to bring together peoples whose aims are harmonious. The world is learning to recognize that the endeavor to assimilate alien elements forcibly is fraught with discord. All this means that peoples and nations are finding themselves. A remarkable fact permeates this self-discovery. As nations and peoples acquire growing consciousness of their individuality, their respect for each other's rights increases. A strong promise of future harmony is thereby indicated.

Harmony Increasing

To the collaboration of time in nationality must be added that of space. All life in the world has a place of its own. The oak or the tundra thrive in their respective belts only. As men, Frenchmen in France and Germans in Germany differ primarily because they occupy dissimilar regions. Each leads a life which is largely a result of environment. The influence of the land can be detected both in the physical and spiritual temperament of its sons. And Europe as a human habitat is an eminently

Influence of Habitat

privileged continent. Each geographical subdivision of the continent has exerted its particular influence on life within its limits. This will be appreciated first by a comprehensive survey of the continent.

Europe's Advantages

Although the smallest of all continents, Europe stands out on the map as the most important seat of history in the past two thousand years. It occupies only one-thirteenth of the land area of our planet but it is peopled by one-fourth of the world's population. It lies in the very heart of the northern temperate zone where civilization has reached its highest form. No obstacle to communication with the rest of the world exists for Europeans. The continent is splendidly indented and the seas which penetrate it have shielded its inhabitants from the bane of isolation. Travel over these seas was easy and brought European peoples into contact with one another. Along the sea lanes Vikings met adventurous Argonauts or piratical Illyrians. A wholesome interchange of ideas accompanied commercial barter. On land the vast northern plain is an ancient road of commerce and of invasion. Between Paris and Moscow the railroad line extends without tunnels or steep grades. Intercourse with remotest Asia has been maintained uninterruptedly; Africa lies at Europe's very door. That admirable lane of travel known as the Mediterranean has supplied the continent with men, products and ideas from the most favored sections of Asia. And the wide Atlantic, far from being a barrier, has united America to Europe. Economically and historically this absence of natural boundaries has made of Europe the center of the world's human activity.

Advantages of Climate

The debt of the continent to geography can be detected in all its features. By climate it lies open to tempering maritime influences. Temperature and humidity are maintained at seasonal averages. Infrequency of excessive variations has favored European humanity. Nervous tension characteristic of climates in which changes in temperature and pressure are wide and frequent is rarely met among Europeans. For their benefit the currents of the Atlantic bring the warmth of distant southern regions. The prevailing winds in Europe also come from the southwest and contribute a supply of natural heat taken from warm regions. A temperature map of the world shows that for the same latitude Europe has on the average a warmer climate. Without these warm winds and currents the climate in Great Britain or northern Germany would be as cold as that of Labrador. Their share in

European history has been ample. Further, they point to the existence of solid foundations for the individuality and unity of European life.

A union of European peoples does not exist however and the federation of the continent is a problem for coming generations which perhaps will realize better that in spite of its diversified features their continent suggests genuine uniformity. At present it is pertinent to note that each region has a character of its own and that nations are symbols of regional unity. The case of France and French nationality with all that it stands for is exemplary, because by its configuration no less than by its position France has been the meeting-place of peoples in western Europe.

France a Meeting-place

A portion of the country's boundary is sharply set off by mountain and sea. The Atlantic, the Pyrenees, the Mediterranean, and the mountains on the east from the Maritime Alps to the Vosges provide France with frontiers which confined French nationality within a definite habitat. On the north and northeast, however, French territory merges without sharp transition into the great lowland of northern Europe. The Teuton has taken advantage of this open stretch to swarm into France century after century since antiquity. Many of the troubled periods in the history of French nationality are manifestations of the ease with which Teutonic penetration of France was made possible. But if France was open on the north it had likewise a stretch of smiling sea coast on the south which was easily accessible to the stranger. Northern peoples met the southerners therefore upon French soil. The Teuton came under the name of Goth, Frank or Burgundian and mingled with Phœnician, Greek and Roman who through Marseilles had reached every nook and corner of the country. In the early stage fusion was incomplete. The results were constant fighting on French soil and the existence of strongly marked class differences. The fact is true in every nation. The progress of fusion however was accompanied by peace within the land until French nationality emerged in modern history with the attribute of unity.

Effect on People

France therefore is essentially Europe's western highway of peoples. Upon its territory is found the western termination of the northern plains of Europe and Asia. The great mountain system of Central Europe likewise has its dying offshoots, on the west, in France. In the population a living reflection of these facts of geography are to be traced. The energy of northern

races is peculiar to Frenchmen, in whom also is found the softness and artistic sense of southern elements. Intellectually the French mind carries an admirable blend of vigorous and graceful thought. The lucidity of French scientific writing is universally recognized. Its mathematicians and its students of mechanics have presented the most abstruse conceptions of their arid studies in pleasant language. For these natural gifts Frenchmen are primarily indebted to their native land.

A Fated Clash

But this heritage of geography is tainted with dark aspects. To-day we watch the culminating effects of momentous movements due to the northern gap in the continuity of France's natural boundary. The historical sifting of centuries settled on the political problem of Alsace-Lorraine. In both Germany and France the forces of nationalism have crystallized into political entities only during the nineteenth century. The clash in the border zone was fated. Alsace and Lorraine have the common characteristic of being transition lands. Both provinces have felt the influences of two powerful adjoining nations. In Lorraine the struggle between French and German culture has been most intense because the province is a lowland easily accessible both on the east and the west. The mixed character of its population is therefore far more apparent than in Alsace.

The problem of this borderland requires mention of the Vosges mountains. In ancient times the ranges proved an effective barrier to communication between France and Germany. The height of crests, thickly wooded flanks and the lack of defiles led to their being shunned alike by the ancestors of Frenchmen and Germans. Teutonic invaders have always avoided the slopes, preferring to follow the Belfort gap on the south or to turn its northern edge where the plateau of Lorraine afforded easier routes. The demands of medieval industry contributed principally to the peopling of the mountains. To-day the highland population consists principally of descendants of miners or wood-cutters. On the sides facing France are found districts where French is spoken exclusively, while Alsatian dialects are met on the east. The linguistic boundary is sharply marked by the line of crests extending along the entire length of the uplift. The boundary delimitation of 1871 was laid with slight regard to this natural division and runs since then well within an area peopled by French inhabitants.

In both Alsace and Lorraine an easterly expansion of French

culture as represented by language is observable since the 16th century. This linguistic advance may be taken as the symbol of the preference felt in the two provinces for French civilization. It is particularly wide in Lorraine because here the country is less mountainous. Upon strictly linguistic grounds Germany cannot claim a considerable area of Lorraine.

French Tongue Gains

The predominance of the French language in Lorraine is a victory of which Frenchmen may well be proud. It was the triumph of culture and refinement over aggression. France fought for supremacy in Lorraine with the tool of high ideals and all the armament of Teutonic warriors proved unavailing to prevent the steady advance of French thought and ideas. So of old had conquered Greece subdued her victors. To-day the stronghold of Metz is the center of a thoroughly French district. For many miles to the east and south, within territory which is still German, French language and ideals hold sway. This moral conquest is also strongly felt in Alsace where, in spite of his Teutonic dialect, the Alsatian is a Frenchman at heart, and this in spite of the formidable barrier of the Vosges.

The opening in the mountain border of France has therefore affected the country adversely. In Belgium too a similar evil is due to the same cause. This small nation's only natural frontier is the sea on the west. Its territory is borderless on the other sides. Belgium therefore became the hedge country in which French and German elements met. It has been the alternate prey of Teuton and Roman. Its population to-day is made up of two elements, the Flemish and the Walloon, each representing the two great peoples of western Europe. Time has welded the two Belgian elements into a nation endowed with consciousness of its individuality. But the curse of its unfortunate position has hovered over the land through the ages to our day.

Belgium Always Overrun

The country is divided within itself into a hilly and a depressed area. The uplands are peopled by the Walloons and form the area of French language. The lowland is the home of the Flemings who speak a Teutonic dialect but who also know French. For an official and the business language of Belgium is French. This language is also that of polite society and represents the existence of national unity. With all the diversity brought about by race and environment both Flemings and Walloons consider themselves as Belgians above everything else. This union rests on solid economic foundations; for the

Belgian National Unity

two main divisions complement each other. The lowlands contain the farming and trading centers of the country, while the hills have become the seat of thriving mining and metallurgical industries. The needs of the population are filled by exchanges which take place within the land. This condition is one in which culture has turned environment to advantage with results beneficial to nationality.

Germany's Central Place

The part played in history by Europe's northern plain looms so far in an unfavorable light. It is the home of the Teutonic peoples and the seat of German power. Germany in Europe is the country of the core. The nation occupies on the map a magnificently central position between the Latin and the Slavic world. German writers have dwelt on this enviable location with the utmost elation. "The heart of Europe" is the appellation they often bestow upon their land. That this position has contributed to the strength of Germany in war we know to-day. In view of this, the lateness in the achievement of German national unity is surprising. Here again the evidence of the map is illuminating. German national territory comprises both a mountain zone and a lowland. The transition between these two natural regions is obtained by a series of subzones of decreasing elevation but which are endowed with sufficient physical importance to form distinct areas of peopling.

This fact coupled to the utter lack of frontiers on the northern plain explains why Germany was divided into a large number of petty states down to the memory of living generations. Comparison of German physical and historical maps shows that the political morseling of German territory is particularly intense in the mountainous areas of the south and southwest. And each unit can be traced to its geographical foundation. Thus to mention only a few Bavaria represents the upper basin of the Danube, Wurtemberg the upper valley of the Neckar and Franconia the higher valleys of the Main.

Artificial Austria-Hungary

This geographical phase of German history is repeated to a certain extent in the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The territory of the Dual Monarchy is even more diversified than that of its Teutonic neighbor and ally. It will be shown below that the varied elements making up the population of the empire represent distinct natural regions. Austria-Hungary is not a nation but only a political state. This artificial unity is due to a single cause, to wit, the existence of the important Danube corridor. Barring the Volga, this river is the

longest in Europe. Its valley has always been the main artery of continental trade. Historically Austria owes its political life and its large territory to this river.

The importance of this natural highway was intensified at the time of the Turkish penetration into Europe. The conquest of Balkan land by Mohammedan armies was to be followed by further westerly invasions for which the Danube provided a convenient route. Austria's mission was to check the Turkish advance. For this purpose Christendom in the affected regions rallied around Austria. The large number of Slavs who owe allegiance to the house of Hapsburg to-day is a relic of former grouping for protection. But with the passing of the Turkish danger the reason for Austrian subjection of alien peoples was removed. Valid reason may therefore be advanced for the liberation of Italians, Slavs or Rumanians from the Austrian yoke.

The southern boundary of the Austrian state abuts against Italian lands from Switzerland to the Carinthian hills. Along this contact line a notable Italian element maintains itself within Austria. This foreign area is Italian proper in western Tyrol and Ladin in its eastern extension. The southerly advance of Germans in the mountains followed the valleys of the Etsch and Eisack, showing thereby that the channels through which mountain waters flowed also facilitated transit of traders from German highlands to the Adriatic. A steady current of freight has been maintained along this route since the beginnings of continental commerce. By the Middle Ages numerous colonies of German merchants had acquired solid footing along the much-traveled road over the Brenner Pass which connected Augsburg and Venice.

Italian Elements

By degrees the Germans occupied the valley of the Etsch south of its confluence with the Eisack. The divide between Teutonic and Italian languages has its westernmost reach at Stelvio near Trafoi. The junction of Swiss and Austrian political boundaries at this point corresponds to the contact between the German of the Tyrol and the Romansh idioms of Engadine. Ladin settlements begin north of the Fleims valley and spread beyond the Groden basin to Pontebba and Malborghet where the meeting of three of Europe's important peoples, the Romans, Germans and Slavs, occurs.

The Italian section of the Tyrol constitutes the Trentino of present-day Italian irredentists. As early as 774 Charlemagne's division of the region between the kingdoms of Bavaria and of Italy had implied

recognition of differences which later were to be expressed by nationality. But the importance of maintaining German control over natural lines of access to southern seas determined his successors to award temporal rights in the southeastern Alps to bishops upon whose adherence to Germanic interests reliance could be placed. The bishopric of Trentino thus passed under the Teutonic sphere of influence which is preserved to-day by the political union of the territory of the old see to the Austrian Empire. Definite annexation of the Trentino to the province of Tyrol took place in 1815. Contact with the Teutonic element appears to have failed, however, to eradicate or modify the Italian character of the region's institutions or its life.

Bohemia Slav Vanguard

The Czechs of Bohemia make up Slavdom's vanguard in Europe. On a racial map the area they occupy conveys a vivid picture of a ram battering the compact mass of Teutons. Few regions are as well defined as this mountain-framed land. It is the most centrally situated block of continental Europe. Here better than in any unredeemed territory perhaps, the poet's song, the historian's tale and the scientist's achievements have contributed to the awakening of national conscience. With school, church and their famous athletic and tourist associations as sole weapons, the Czechs are waging a vigorous campaign to secure political independence. Within their territory Pan Germanism is strictly on the defensive. Pitted against Saxons on the north, Bavarians on the west and Austrians on the south, the Czechs like the Slav-encircled Hungarians appear to derive renewed energy from the very encroachments upon their national ideals.

The Other Czechs

With the Bohemians must be included their kinsmen and neighbors the Moravians and Slovaks. Community of national aspirations is generally ascribed to these three Slavic groups. A Czecho-Slovak body consisting of about 8,500,000 individuals thus came into being within the Dual Monarchy. The Slovaks are mountain dwellers who have but slightly fraternized with Czechs and Moravians notwithstanding close racial and linguistic affinity. The course of centuries failed to change their customs or the mode of life led in the western Carpathians. The Hungarian plain unfolded itself below their rocky habitation without tempting them to forsake the seclusion of their native valleys. Their language holds its own as far east as the Laborec valley. Junction with Polish is effected in the Tatra.

South of the Baltic the unbroken expanse now peopled by Germans merges insensibly into the western section of the great Russian plain.

Poland's Buffer Position

This extensive lowland is featureless and provides no natural barriers between the two nations it connects. The Polish area alone intervenes as a buffer product of the basin of the middle Vistula. The region is a silt-covered lowland which emerged to light after the drying out of glacial lakes of recent geological age. It appears to have been inhabited by the same branch of the Slavic race since the beginning of the Christian era. It was the open country in which dearth of food and the consequent inducement to migration did not exist. The development of Poland rests primarily on this physical foundation. Added advantages of good land and water communication with the rest of the continent likewise contributed powerfully to the spread of Polish power, which at one time extended from the Baltic shores to the coast of the Black Sea.

Political uniformity was thus the result of the unifying influence of a region characterized by common physical aspects. From the Carpathians to the Baltic, the valley of the Vistula constitutes both the cradle and the blossoming field of Polish humanity and its institutions. In spite of the remoteness of the period of their occupation of the land, these children of the plains never attempted to scale mountainous slopes. The solid wall of the western Carpathians between Jablunka and Sanok, with its abrupt slopes facing the north, forms the southern boundary of the country.

The struggle for predominance between Poles and Germans along Poland's western boundary is fully nine centuries old. In the 6th

Polish-German Rivalry

century Slavonic tribes had become widely distributed between the Oder and the Elbe in the course of westerly expansions, which corresponded to south and west migrations of Teutonic peoples. The beginning of the present millennium witnessed the inception of a slow and powerful Germanic drive directed toward the east. Repeated German aggressions brought about the earliest union of all Polish tribes into one nation at the beginning of the 11th century. It proved, however, of little avail before the fighting prowess of the knights of the Teutonic Order who, by the first half of the 13th century, had succeeded in adding all Wend territory to Teutonic dominions. This early and northern phase of the "Drang nach Osten" brought the Germans to the coast of the Gulf of Finland. Their advance was

rendered possible in part by the presence of Tatar hordes menacing southern Poland. Teutonic progress was also facilitated by the condition of defenselessness which characterizes an open plain. Between the Oder and the Vistula the slightly undulating lowland is continuous and devoid of barriers to communication which the interposition of uplifted or uninhabitable stretches of territory might have provided.

Polish history has been affected both favorably and adversely by this lack of natural bulwarks. The one-time extension of Polish sovereignty to the coasts of the Baltic and Black Seas or to within fifty miles of Berlin and the central plateau of Russia was a result of easy travel in a plain. This advantage was more than offset by the evident facility with which alien races were able to swarm back into the vast featureless expanse forming Polish territory. The very dismemberment of the country is in part the result of the inability of the Poles to resort to the protection of a natural fortress, where a stand against oppressing foes might have been made.

Poland Without Defenses

Poland's easterly expansion, with its prolonged and finally disastrous conflict with Russia, began after the battle of Grünwald in 1410. Although the Poles then inflicted a decisive defeat on the German knights, the western provinces they had lost could not be regained. In the eastern field the basin of the Dnieper merged without abrupt transition into that of the Vistula just as the basin of the Oder on the west had formed the western continuation of the Baltic plain. Four centuries of struggle with Russia ensued until the Muscovite Empire absorbed the greatest portion of Poland.

The presence in Europe of Hungarians, a race bearing strong linguistic and physical affinity to Turkish tribesmen, is perhaps best explained by the prolific harvests yielded by the broad valleys of the Danube and Theiss. Huns, Avars and Magyars, one and all Asiatics wandering into Europe successively, were enticed into abandonment of nomadism by the fertility of the boundless Alföld. Western influences took solid root among these descendants of eastern ancestors after their conversion to Christianity and the adoption of the Latin alphabet. So strongly did they become permeated by the spirit of Occidental civilization that the menace of absorption by the Turks—their own kinsmen—was rendered abortive whenever the Sultan's hordes made successful advances toward Vienna. At the same time,

Harvests Attract Hungarians

fusion with the Germans was prevented by the Oriental origin of the race. The foundation of a separate European nation was thus laid in the Hungarian plains.

The Magyar Outpost

A minor group of Hungarians has settled on the eastern edge of the Transylvania mountains. They live surrounded by Rumanians on all sides except on the west, where a lone outpost of Saxons brings Teutonic customs to the east. The name of Szekler, meaning frontier guardsmen, applied to this body of Magyars, is indicative of their origin. Their presence on the heights overlooking the Rumanian plain bespeaks the solicitude of Hungarian sovereigns to control a site on which the natural bulwark dominating their plains had been raised. These Magyars represent at present the landed gentry of Transylvania.

This Hungarian colony was in full development at the end of the 13th century. Its soldiers distinguished themselves during the period of war with the Turks. Prestige acquired on the battlefield strengthened the separate and semi-independent existence of the community. The region occupied by these Hungarians is situated along the easternmost border of the Austro-Hungarian Empire. The towns of Schässburg and Maros Vásárhely lie on its western border. The Rumanian area situated between the land of the Szekler and the main Hungarian district is studded with numerous colonies of Magyars, thereby rendering delimitation of a boundary in the region almost impossible.

A Frontier Relic

The Saxon colony adjoining the Szekler area on the west is also a relic of medieval strategic requirements. In spite of the name by which this German settlement is designated, its original members appear to have been recruited from different sections of western European regions occupied by Teutons. Colonization had already been started when King Gesa II of Hungary gave it a fresh impulse in the middle of the 12th century by inducing peasants of the middle Rhine and Moselle valleys to forsake servitude in their native villages in return for land ownership in Transylvania.

To promote the efficiency of the soldier colonists as frontier guardsmen an unusual degree of political latitude was accorded them. In time their deputies sat in the Hungarian diet on terms of equality with representatives of the nobility. Prolonged warfare with the Tatar populations attempting to force entrance into the Hungarian plains determined selection of strategical sites as nuclei of original settlements. These facts are responsible for the survival of the

Teutonic groups in the midst of Rumanians and Hungarians. To-day the so-called Saxon area does not constitute a single group, but consists of separate agglomerations clustered in the vicinity of the passes and defiles which their ancestors were called upon to defend. The upper valley of the Oltu and its mountain affluents in the rectangle enclosed between the towns of Hermannstadt, Fogaras, Mediasch and Schässburg contain at present the bulk of this Austrian colony of German ancestry.

Rumanian Tongue Area

The Germans and Hungarians who founded settlements on the Transylvanian plateau were unable to impose their language and ideals on the inhabitants of the mountainous region. Rumanian, representing the easternmost expansion of Latin speech, is in use to-day on the greatest portion of this highland, as well as in the fertile valleys and plains surrounding it between the Dniester and the Danube. A portion of Hungary and the Russian province of Bessarabia is therefore included in this linguistic unit outside of the kingdom of Rumania. Beyond the limits of this continuous area the only important colony of Rumanians is found around Metsovo in Greece, where, in the recesses of the Pindus mountains and surrounded by the Greeks, Albanians and Bulgarians of the plains, almost half a million Rumanians have managed to maintain their Latin character.

Live Both on Plains and Mountains

From the valley of the Dniester to the basin of the Theiss the steppes of southern Russia spread in unvarying uniformity, save where the tableland of the Transylvanian Alps breaks their continuity. The entire region was the Dacia colonized by the Romans. Unity of life in this home of Rumanian nationality has been unaffected by the sharp physical diversity afforded by the enclosure of mountain and plain within the same linguistic boundary. The thoroughness with which Rumanians have adapted themselves to the peculiarities of their land is evinced by the combination of the twin occupations of herder and husbandman followed by Moldavians and Wallachians. Cattle and flocks are led every summer to the rich grazing lands of the elevated Transylvanian valleys. In winter man and beast seek the pastures of the Danubian steppes and prairies. Rumanians thus maintain mountain and plain residences, which they occupy alternately in the year. These seasonal migrations account for the intimacy between highlanders and lowlanders, besides affording adequate explanation of the peopling of the region by a single nationality.

There was a time, however, when Rumanian nationality became entirely confined to the mountain zone. The invasions which followed the retirement of the Romans had driven Rumanians to the shelter of the Transylvanian ranges. Perched on this natural fortress, they beheld the irruption of Slavs and Tatars in the broad valleys which they had once held in undisputed sway. Only after the flow of southeastern migrations had abated did they venture to reoccupy the plains and resume their agricultural pursuits and seasonal wanderings.

The outstanding fact in these historical vicissitudes is that the mountains saved Rumanian nationality. Had the Romanized Dacians not been able to find refuge in the Transylvanian Alps there is no doubt that they would have succumbed to Slavic or Tatar absorption. As it is, the life of Rumanians is strongly impregnated with eastern influences. Oddly enough, its Christianity was derived from Byzantium instead of from Rome, and were it not for a veritable renaissance of Latinism about 1860 its affinity with the Slavic world would have been far stronger in the present century.

Of the two groups of southern Slavs subjected to Austro-Hungarian rule the Slovenes are numerically inferior. Settled on the calcareous plateau of Carniola, they cluster around Laibach and attain the German area on the north, along the Drave between Marburg and Klagenfurt. Eastward they march with Hungarians and the Serbo-Croat group of southern Slavs. Their southern boundary also coincides with the latter's. Around Gottschee, however, a German zone intervenes between Slovene and Croatian areas. Practically the entire eastern coast of the Gulf of Triest is peopled by Slovenes. The group thereby acquires the advantage of direct access to the sea, a fact of no mean importance among the causes that contribute to its survival to the present day in spite of being surrounded by Germans, Hungarians, Croats and Italians.

Slovenes in Carniola

The Slovenes may be considered as laggards of the Slavic migrations that followed Avar invasions. They would probably have occupied the fertile plains of Hungary had they not been driven to their elevated home by the pressure of Magyar and Turkish advances. Confinement in the upland prevented fusion with the successive occupants of the eastern plains which unfolded themselves below their mountain habitations. Racial distinctiveness characterized by language no less than by highly developed attachment to tradition resulted from this state of seclusion.

South of the Hungarian and Slovene zones the Austro-Hungarian domain comprises a portion of the area peopled by Serbians. Serbian language predominates from the Adriatic coast to the Drave and Morava rivers, as well as up to the section of the Danube comprised between its points of confluence with these two rivers. Serbian, in fact, extends slightly east of the Morava valley toward the Balkan slopes lying north of the Timok river, where Rumanian prevails as the language of the upland. To the south contact with Albanian is obtained.

Extent of Serbian Stock

This Serbian area includes the independent kingdoms of Montenegro and Serbia. Within the territory of the Dual Monarchy it comprises the provinces of Croatia, Slavonia, Bosnia, Herzegovina and Dalmatia. Serbian nationality is founded, therefore, on the region of uplift which connects the Alps and the Balkans or which intervenes between the Hungarian plain and the Adriatic.

Union between the inhabitants of this area is somewhat hampered by the division of Serbians into three religious groups. The westernmost Serbs, who are also known as Croats, adhere to the Roman Catholic faith. Followers of this group are rarely met east of the 19th meridian. A Mohammedan body consisting of descendants of Serbs, who had embraced Islam after the Turkish conquest, radiates around Sarajevo as a center. The bulk of Serbians belong, however, to the Greek Orthodox church. Cultural analogies between the Mohammedan and Orthodox groups are numerous. Both use the Russian alphabet, whereas the Croats have adopted the Latin letters in their written language.

The Serbian group made its appearance in the Balkan peninsula at the time of the general westerly advance of Slavs in the 5th and 6th centuries. A northwestern contingent, wandering along the river valleys leading to the eastern Alpine foreland, settled in the regions now known as Croatia and Slavonia. Here the sea and inland watercourses provided natural communications with western Europe. Evolution of this northwestern body of Serbians into the Croatians of our day was facilitated by the infiltration of western ideas. But the great body of Serbians occupying the mountainous area immediately to the south had their foreign intercourse necessarily confined to eastern avenues of communication. They therefore became permeated with an eastern civilization in which Byzantine strains can be easily detected.

Hope for "Greater" Serbia

To-day the political aspirations of this compact mass of Serbians are

centered around the independent kingdom of Serbia, which is regarded as the nucleus around which a greater Serbia comprising all the Serbian-speaking inhabitants of the Balkan peninsula will grow. This Serbo-Croatian element is estimated at between ten and eleven million individuals.

Bulgarian National Area

Southeast of Serbia lies the Bulgarian national area. The Bulgarians are primarily inhabitants of the main Balkan ranges. North and south of the uplift they have overflown into better favored areas. Thus the forelands leading to the Danube are peopled by Bulgarians. The Maritza valley is also predominantly Bulgarian—a fact recorded in the country's national hymn. For Bulgarian, therefore, the physiographic features which have dictated nationality are a central mountain mass and its adjoining lowlands. This area makes up the southeastern end of the Balkan peninsula and it seems logical at first sight to infer that Bulgaria is entitled to this section of Europe. But another fact of geography intervenes here, for the extreme southeastern end of Europe is the region of the Dardanelles and Bosporus Straits. At its tip stands Constantinople, the goal of nations.

Mixture of Peoples at the Bosporus

To ascribe nationality to the shores of the straits is impossible from the standpoint of population. The coastland stretching from the Dardanelles to the Black Sea entrance of the Bosporus is inhabited by a motley population in which the most important elements are represented in almost equal numbers. Greeks mingle with Bulgarians, Turks and Armenians. The Bulgarians are mainly farmers while the Greeks are fishermen and sailors who control the petty coastwise traffic. The Turk still rules as lord of the land and imposes himself by means of strong garrisons. Armenians are found everywhere especially in and around Constantinople. The Jews too are ancient dwellers on these shores and have wedged themselves tightly into the population. Important colonies of European traders have also been present since Byzantine times. Almost every language in the world is heard in the crowded streets of the capital. From the site of Troy to the low hills on which Constantinople is built the classic shores have become the meeting-place of nations.

Where Asia and Europe Meet

This mixed agglomeration was inevitable on such a site. From the Dardanelles to the Black Sea a single waterway extends in spite of the different names by which its parts are known. This region was the crossing of the two main roads between Europe and Asia. Land travelers from

central Europe to Asiatic markets forded the straits and proceeded by way of Asia Minor to central or southern Asia. The navigators from southern Europe could bring their cargoes to the Black Sea terminals of caravan routes only after having steered their ships through the straits. The meeting of two main lines of traffic explains therefore the mixed character of the population. A human residue has been deposited by centuries of thickly flowing travel in those channels. Neither has the traffic ceased. Between Calais or Hamburg and Bombay the shortest land route passes through Constantinople. Even the air line between northwestern Europe and India is straightened by passing over these important waterways. The value of the region for international traffic is one which affects every commercial nation in Europe.

Geography, therefore, has created the Eastern Question. The presence of the Turks in Europe complicated it. The Turk has camped on this tip of the peninsula since the fourteenth century without ever settling. He failed to endow the region with nationality because, nomad that he was, he had none to confer. He failed to assimilate the conquered populations because the bleak and sandy steppes of his Asiatic homelands never gave birth to national institutions and he was forced to model a semblance of political organization after what he found on conquered soil. But the copying was clumsy, and five centuries of occupation did not improve it. He is the Asiatic alien on European soil and geography alone, not to mention a foul historical record, invalidates his title to European territory. His presence has checked the normal growth of nationality on every inch of the Balkan peninsula. Everywhere in this eastern region national freedom has been a late event because of the Turk. In one case—that of the Albanians—its achievement almost failed.

Turk out of Place in Europe

About Albania the map is explicit. Its surface is extremely rugged, few regions in Europe being less accessible. Hence Albanians have had little intercourse with other peoples. Moreover, they have been isolated from one another. Living in a land of narrow valleys, communication between which was rendered difficult by high rocky bulwarks, tribal life was perpetuated among them. They cannot turn to history for light or guidance. The narrowness of their views is a reflection of the surroundings in which they live. In such a land national unity cannot come from within. The value of national organization is an idea

Albanians are still Tribal

which must be taught to Albanians. Of government the only conception they have is obedience to the chieftains of their clans. To abandon them to themselves is to inaugurate a period of warfare. The problem of Albania is one for joint and disinterested concern on the part of the great powers. Here, if ever, the tottering steps of nationality in infancy need elderly guidance for, in spite of adverse conditions, Albania is not lacking in foundations for national unity.

The Albanian region is well defined. An Albanian language, spoken from the southern frontier of Montenegro to the northern limits of Epirus, exists. Lack of intercourse with the outside world favored the perpetuation of a single type. Tallness accompanied by round headedness and dark complexion is common to the majority. Although many of them are Mohammedans, fanaticism is absent. Intermarriage of Christians and Mohammedans is not uncommon. The interesting fact deserves to be recorded that Albanians were Christians in Byzantine days. Their conversion to Islam entitled them to privileges in Turkish times which were denied to Christians. But whether Christians or Mohammedans the Albanians carry their religion lightly, a characteristic which may help to overcome the obstacle of religious divergence.

This brief survey of Balkan nationalities cannot be complete without mention of the drawbacks to the formation of a single nationality due to the peninsula's structure. Lack of uniformity is a dominating characteristic of the peninsula. The heights at which its mountains rise vary greatly. Deep and narrow valleys are the usual occurrence within the ranges. The diversity extends to climate. In the Greek section of the peninsula mild and rainy winters alternate with dry and burning summers. Along the Danubian valley however the winters are long and bitterly cold. Moreover the peninsula through its valleys provides lanes of travel which have been crossed by both European and Asiatic invaders. From Asia especially the inflow has been heavy through the passing of the Danube valley into that of the Pruth. Away from the lanes of travel a life of isolation would be the rule. Communities like those of the Rumanians of the Pindus mountains or the Macedonians thus preserved their identity to this very day.

Geography a Balkan Handicap

The first of these remnants owes its existence to its mountain homeland where a language closely akin to the Roman of the early Christian era is still spoken by its members. The Macedonians however living in less isolated areas are bordermen in whom neither

Serbian nor Bulgarian customs definitely asserted themselves. Only by language does their affinity with Bulgaria present a stronger tie. In every other phase of their life the misfortune of position is apparent. Their land is the time-old cockpit of Serbian and Bulgarian struggles.

A border zone of far greater extent is the seat of Europe's eastern-most nation, Russia. We deal in this instance with the merging into one of two continents and the magnitude of the problem explains the difficulties which have attended the formation of the Russian nation. The basic element in Russia is the ancient Russ or Ruthenian state peopled exclusively by Slavs. Its union with Muscovy produced Russia. But the Muscovite states were Tatar and the absorption of this element by the Slavs of Russia has been a constant source of weakness for the nation. No means of checking this westerly spread of the Tatar was afforded by nature to Russia. Once, in history, over two thousand years ago this same Tatar element was on the point of conquering China, but its progress was arrested by the mountain wall which is China's natural protection on the west. Russia, devoid of a similar barrier, succumbed to the Tatar and is permeated through and through by Tatar blood and Tatar views. Only in the Ukraine has the Slav element retained its purity. In the wide plains of this western province, the real Russian is found. Here the best of Russian thought has found its way in national literature and music. Only when this thoroughly Slavic element will have fully asserted itself on the Asiatic in the east and—we may say it now—on the Teuton in the west, will Russian national life reach full maturity. Before fusion is complete the menace of dismemberment is apt to loom again and again on the Russian political horizon. As a matter of fact the Russian has shown himself in history as a capable assimilator of aliens. But the number of non-Slavs with which he has to deal is overwhelming.

Russia is Merging Continents

Discordant elements in the Russian nation are further provided by the Letts and Lithuanians of the Baltic provinces. These peoples owe their individuality to seclusion in little accessible forested and marshy retreats. The shelter saved them from the Teuton and the Slav. They speak a form of old Aryan which in modern times has helped them to stand aloof from their powerful neighbors. In Finland also the population has always been lukewarm in its allegiance to Russia. In this province, however, the feeling of nationality is based on a highly valid contention.

Discordant Elements of Russia

On the map Finland stands out as a peninsula. Its population is separated from neighboring peoples by the sea and the frozen deserts of Lapland. Within these natural barriers the land has a characteristic of its own imparted by the numerous lakes which dot its surface. This geographical peculiarity is accompanied by a high state of culture in which love of country is deeply enshrined. On such foundations nationality may be solidly established. But the political incorporation of Esthonians with the Finns is a matter teeming with international complication, although the Esthonians are Finns and speak a Finnish language. To dwell on the southern shore of the Gulf of Finland has been, from a political standpoint, their misfortune.

West of these Finns the problems of nationality appear to have been satisfactorily solved by the Scandinavians. The separation of Norway from Sweden in 1905 was the political expression of a physical dualism in the northern peninsula. Norway is a mountainous land with a deeply dissected coast along which the number and beauty of bays are famed the world over. Sweden however is a plateau sloping gently toward the Baltic. Norway enjoys a milder climate because it is subject to oceanic influences from which Sweden is cut off by the very mountains of its sister state. In sum, diversity in the land was eventually felt in nationality.

Scandinavia Offers no Problem

The case of Denmark is no exception. The peninsular section of this country and its neighboring islands enclose a number of straits. Because of this fact the Danes have become the middlemen of the Baltic region. They control the entrance to this sea and exact a toll on the traffic going in or out. The prosperity of Denmark is based on this accident of their country's position. Community of interests born on this gateway created and maintained nationality. The Kiel canal was built to avoid the crossing of the Danish straits by German ships. Note the interlocking of events due to geography. To provide German territory for the canal the duchies of Schleswig and Holstein were annexed by Prussia in 1866. Through this seizure some 150,000 Danes are to-day unwilling subjects of the Kaiser.

Denmark Controls Straits

Before abandoning the theme set forth in these lines it is fitting to carry this survey along the broadest lines of European geography. The continent is a peninsula. The Mediterranean and the Atlantic with the North and Baltic seas outline this feature definitely. Between this fact of

Highest Type near Seashore

geography and the progress of nationality a striking relation is in evidence. The highest form of civilization in Europe and the most perfected types of nationality are found along the seaward fringe of the European continent. The progress of life in the land mass is still clouded by the veil of medieval anachronisms. In Teutonic lands, notwithstanding boasted superiority, the disastrous effects of dynasticism are felt. In France and Britain such relics of past ignorance have been swept away by a more enlightened comprehension of man's welfare. Russia is even worse off than Germany, since it is in the throes of a transition which has plunged its long-suffering inhabitants from one extreme to another.

This remarkable fringe of the European peninsula has even more to its credit. As a seat of civilization it has stood foremost ever since Europe assumed its predominant rôle in world history. The coastland from Greece through its westerly sweep to Scandinavia became the avenue which favored the northerly travel of the high ideals evolved in the Asiatic lands of early civilization. The Greek and Roman world owed the best in their civilization to southwestern Asia. As Greeks and Romans drew from the east, so France and Great Britain draw from Hellenic and Roman thought for a more intimate understanding of the abiding truths which have been the prime movers of high purpose in every land. In this dissemination of light, France plays a leading part. To this very day British thought is influenced by French intellectualism. In Germany, Teutonic civilization has advanced only as it has drawn on the enlightenment radiating from France. France and Great Britian are now the leading nations of the fringe before our view. And away at the northern end Scandinavians have given the world a shining example of national unity coupled with the most progressive democratic ideals.

France and Britain Leaders

Now that this travel of culture has reached its northern bounds a due easterly push has originated which bids fair to improve life in central and eastern Europe. Germany's backwardness in civilization is proved by the brutality, often degenerating into savagery, which permeates the German mind. Civilization can be measured by ideals alone. Material progress is a deficient gage. Were other means of ascertaining these truths wanting, the lesson of the map alone would be convincing. Humanity's debt to the coastlands of Europe can never be overestimated.

Germany Backward in Ideals

This was an effect of geography the drift of which is in agreement with the particular cases outlined for each nation. Travel by sea was an easier feat than the scaling of the mountain barrier which in central Europe hampers direct communication between northern and southern lands. Southern Europe's great midland sea and its smiling climate invited travel the year around. In such propitious surroundings civilization advanced at least twice as fast as in the colder inland plain where, away from the softening influence of the sea, one half of each year was a period of lethargy in thought or material achievement. The gift of sea and ocean to Europe therefore meant higher civilization.

Midland Sea made Travelers

But the student of nationality sees beyond the physical background. The progress by instalments which everywhere has been a characteristic of nationality has been accompanied by social movements which should be estimated in their proper light. A hundred years ago dynasticism was held as the most stable guarantee of peace. To-day the idea that peoples exist for the benefit of their monarchs has given place to sounder conceptions of democracy. East and west of the Atlantic two sister republics, France and the United States, share the honor of having proven by a practical application of a republican form of government that the welfare of the state is a direct outcome of the welfare of its citizen. To her honor also Great Britain, in spite of a monarchical form of government and because of the high character of Anglo-Saxon ideals, has been singularly free from the evils of dynasticism which in continental Europe have retarded the progress of democracy. Unfortunately the endeavor to free Europe from the danger of dynastic ascendancy has been accompanied by the rise of revolutionary tendencies which, carried to impractical extremes by fanatically inclined idealists, tend to create conditions of anarchy. The case of Russia lies before the world's gaze. A perverted use of appealing catchwords has spread in ignorant quarters. Fanciful notions concerning liberty disseminated by irresponsible visionaries have become effective agencies to suppress law and order as conceived by the saner thought of generations. Clearly a middle course between dynasticism and ultra-radicalism is required in European nations. A clear grasp of the working of these social currents is essential everywhere, more so perhaps in the case of the smaller states which have hitherto led a mutilated national life. Such knowledge coupled to the data of science as supplied by an enlightened interpretation of

Social Growth a Factor

the map will help in converting the sorely tried continent into a peacefully administered unit.

Trend to Union and Harmony

A final glance at the peoples dealt with in these pages as well as at their background shows evidence everywhere of a development toward union and harmony. We have seen races effecting lodgment on European soil and mingling with one another to form peoples. These peoples throughout the long procession of centuries have been aspiring even when thwarted by their surroundings. Yet nature rarely thwarts. The spectacle of the assistance rendered by geography in the development of union among men is before us. None who follow this growth can fail to realize its significance. Nationality is but a stage in the unfolding of a grander human union which will absorb the whole world. The end is far—very far—from having been achieved. But the process is under way. The welding of races into a single one in which the best of each will be represented, the effacement of particular interests before the common weal, the conquests of natural barriers which tend to promote parochial individuality, are all goals of humanity. We stand on the threshold of a period in which the betterment of peoples will be facilitated by the accumulated toil of scholars. Results of scientific endeavor are available to-day for the fine adjustment of any political balance. Like the blossom on the tree they are the pledges of fruitfulness. A crying need for their application exists.

HOME USE
CIRCULATION DEPARTMENT
MAIN LIBRARY

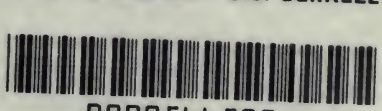
This book is due on the last date stamped below.
1-month loans may be renewed by calling 642-3405.
6-month loans may be recharged by bringing books to Circulation Desk.
Renewals and recharges may be made 4 days prior to due date.
ALL BOOKS ARE SUBJECT TO RECALL 7 DAYS AFTER DATE CHECKED OUT.

APR 11 1976 39 SEP 01 1995
REC. CIR. MAR 11 '76
AUTO DISC CIRC SEP 05 '95
MAY 11 1977 89
REC. CIR. APR 11 '77 JAN 17 2007
DEC 9 1978
REC. CIR. DEC 7 1978
MAR 25 1981
RET'D MAR 30 1981
RECEIVED BY
APR 15 1983
MAR 1 [illegible] 1983
CIRCULATION DEPT.

LD21—A-40m-8,'75
(S7737L)

General Library
University of California
Berkeley

GENERAL LIBRARY - U.C. BERKELEY



B000544590